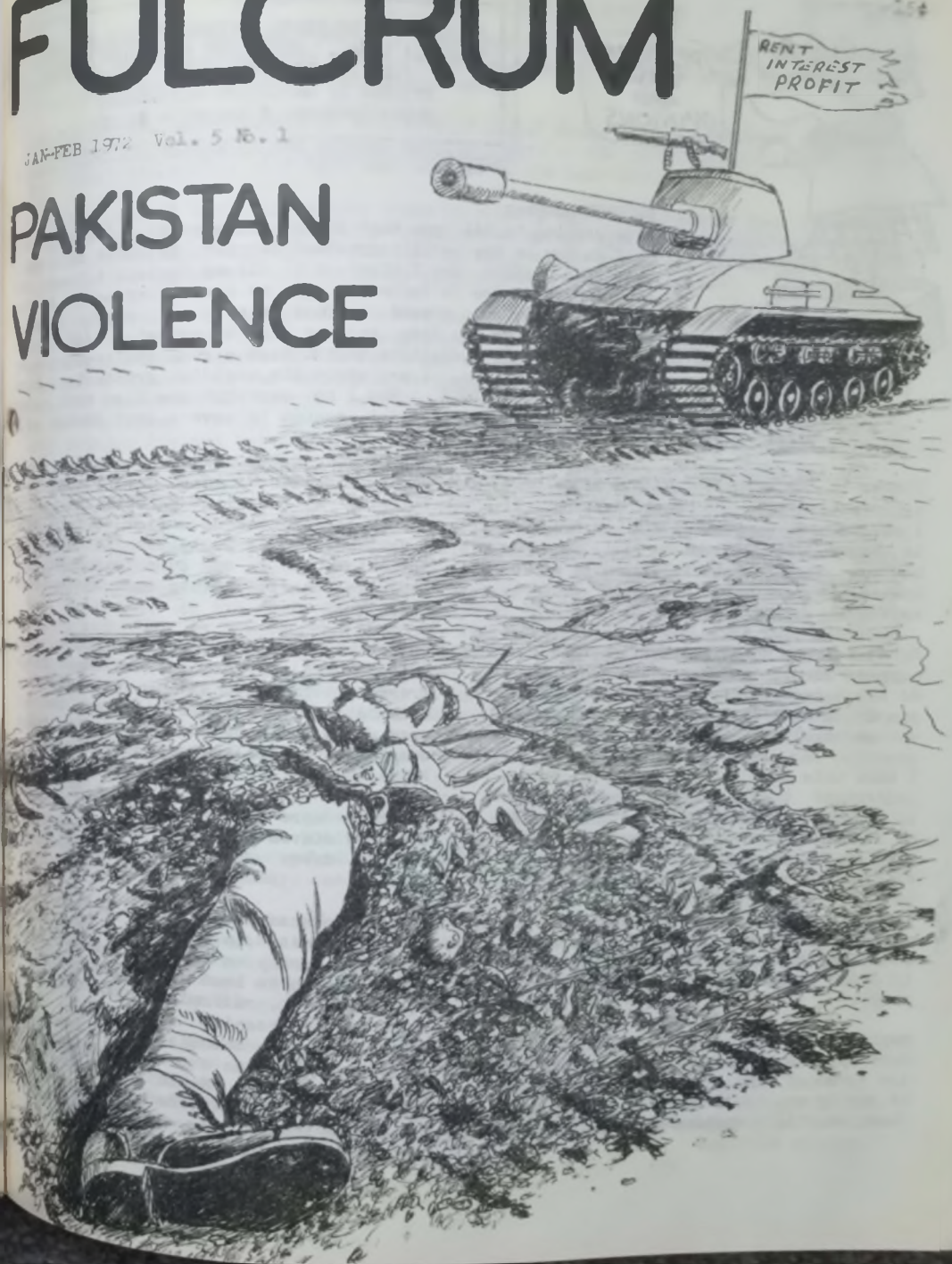
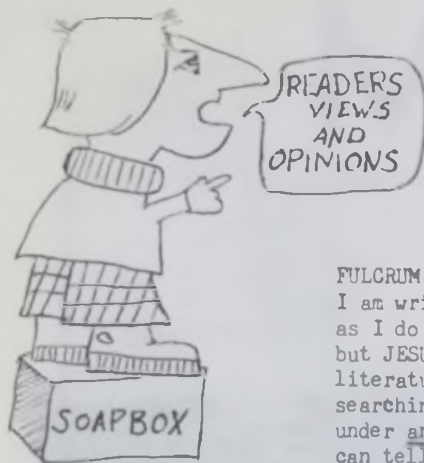


# FULCRUM

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## PAKISTAN VIOLENCE





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#### FULCRUM Soapbox

I am writing to tell you that I just got married. She believes as I do now in the world's greatest messiah. Not Marx or Engels but JESUS CHRIST! Yes I threw out all my Socialist books and literature because it failed to give me that inner peace I was searching for and showed me that man is too sinful to work under any system as long as they fail to accept CHRIST. You can tell all the Socialists that I have a real spiritual answer to the world's ills. I now study the world's greatest book diligently: The BIBLE. Now I am sane but now I am even saner because Jesus was merciful enough to save a lost Jewish soul

like me. Praise the Lord!

Thanks to my wonderful wife I have more satisfaction than you could imagine. If I suffer here on earth I will be rewarded in heaven, with him and he will save you but you must be faithful, and as a Socialist, it was hard for me to convert, especially being a Jew.

Sure I have abandoned Marxism but I am happier for it and for once in my life, I do not regret this! If you still feel as you do, I'll pray for you and maybe Jesus can be merciful to save all the comrades.

I know this is a shock to you but please understand that Socialism does not give us peace. Christ is aware that CAPITALISM is SINFUL but if your suffering is great here we can at least have happiness ever after if we are just obedient to GOD and let him have his way. Right now I am trying to spread the real solution to the world's dilemma's by selling my wife's books and records of her own compositions in order to survive, although it is awful rough.  
x-socialist

#### Reply

Here appears to be a Socialist lost to the "arms of Jesus." Just how Socialist he really was is reflected in the fact that he still considered himself a Jew.

Anyone who truly grasps Socialism could never consider himself Jew: 1. Not as a religion as Socialist materialist philosophy is a denial of religion; 2. Not as a nationality as Socialism is denial of nationalism; and 3. not as a "race" because Socialist studies refute such concepts of "race".

Actually Socialists are inclined to overestimate the approach of the "new" Jesus freaks. It is somewhat surprising to find out that they are still peddling the old crap about the comfort of paradise being compensation for the purgatory on earth. Maybe the Social reformers and other supporters of capitalism are, after all, spending more to elicit the support of the wage slaves than they really need to. Massive doses of Jesusianity would be cheaper.

It is of course always sad for the Socialist movement to lose even one student but it is hardly a new experience. Many before have been lost to the escapism of drugs, some to reformism, and some, like this, to the escapism of religion. Socialists have one consolation. There is one factor that has a continuous pressure to drive them to Socialism. The evil effects and contradictions of the capitalist system itself as "x - socialist's" last paragraph indicates.

### IGNORANCE AND VIOLENCE, ON THE SUB-CONTINENT

Anyone who may be more than casually interested in the recent events on the Indian sub-continent will have absorbed details of the starvation, violence and a degree of the lying and hypocrisy from the respectable media.

Naturally, the basic causes of this kind of social drama together with the political ignorance and apathy of the general working public -- the useful class in all parts of the industrial world, will have been omitted by the mass media.

Despite the fact that this useful class in society has its collective nose rubbed in it every day, it seems to prefer perfumed nasal sprays against the stinking reality of its economically subjugated position in the present commercial arrangement of, producers of versus owners of, the means of production and distribution.

The surplus values, from which interest and profits are derived, are the difference between what employers pay out in wages and what wage workers produce in total values. If the industrial barons of the earth had no surpluses to strive for or to expand, no markets or sources of raw materials to compete for as ingredients of profit, the basic cause of war would not exist. But then neither would an owning class exist, just as in the biological field, no animal can exist without its food supply. So long as society remains divided between an owning class of parasites that lives off the majority, and the mass of people who survive on the condition that they produce loot for the minority, just so long will the war and poverty condition endure.

The prizes that were won or lost by some of the contending ruling cliques of the earth in the Indian-Pakistani war apparently were considerable and overwhelmingly tempting. In East Pakistan, the stakes were the profits of the jute and tea trades, and a captive market for industry. The previous beneficiaries of the loot were the owner-rulers of West Pakistan. As the newly appointed shepherd of the flocks in that country, Ali Bhutto was heard to remark, the "economic exploitation of the people of East Pakistan was never done by the people of West Pakistan." Instead, he said, a small number of "capitalists from West Pakistan have committed injustices to the people of both wings.." (250 million rupees of resources went to the West's elite annually). That minority which characterizes all countries and which in West Pakistan consists of "22 families, the wealthy aristocrats who, until the secession of East Pakistan -- controlled two-thirds of the country's industrial assets and 80% of its banking and insurance business ...." (Time, Jan. 3/72).

Now that a new ownership has been decided by a superior force, it looks like the big businessmen of India, with their "rebel" Bangla Desh counterparts (like industrial captains Bhuiya, Choudhury and Hague) will split the spoils in the future. After all, when one bankrolls a buddy, one expects to share the take.

Official violence also flared again over that old bone of contention between Indian and West Pakistan coupon clippers, the riches of the state of Kashmir, which include substantial timber resources, agricultural products, oil and minerals, and as usual the loyal wage workers of both sides obliged their respective masters by doing the necessary blood shedding.

The big national possessing groups also have money-making interests on the sub-continent. The best known, and the longest established are British businessmen. They were the former owners of India in the gilt-edged days of empire, the first to discover the dedicated Indian peasants and workers as an easy mark. The capital they have invested there, and the profits they extract, are probably greater than the other powers.

continued on page 4

# Ignorance and Violence, On The Sub-Continent (continued)

In 1962, returns on manufacturing capital in India for U.S. owners were as high as 20.6%, and Pakistan has been a business colony of the U.S. for a considerable time.

## RUSSIA - NEW IMPERIALISM

Lately the Kremlin dictatorship has been elbowing its way into the juicy, sub-continent exploitation scene. During the Indian 5 year plan -- 1966-71, the bosses of Russia intended to have a billion rubles of capital planted in India, indicating that lots of interest and profits, extracted from hard-working Indian proletarians goes to the elite of Moscow. Naturally, the Russian rich, by arming India, have had an eye on adding the working public of East Pakistan to their sources of unearned increment.

More evidence has been required to prove that the owning minority of the USSR does not suffer from color blindness in the green-gold range, any more than their species does in other parts of this socially divided planet. That their 20-20 vision revealed goodies to be gobbled all the way down to south-east Asia (fought over by the U.S. and China for the past 20 years in Vietnam, etc. By being important people in the new country of Bangla Desh, they will acquire a beautiful view of their capitalistic navy patrolling the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean, formerly a pasture of British and U.S. control.

In all these contests, some combatants must lose, and in this latest military scuffle, the U.S., Britain, China and West Pakistan appear to have lost some green, with France, Russia and India being victors.

To the workers of the world, whose obedient labor makes these adventures and misadventures of their bosses possible, their indifference quotient may have been dented slightly by the part of the iceberg that could not be hidden under the water, in that part of the world. Maybe. Like China, the alleged champion of oppressed peoples, backing West Pakistan, which committed armed atrocities against the people of East Pakistan that would make Hitler and Stalin sit up and take notice. Or like the endeared Indira Gandhi, carrying on the tradition of her illustrious father, of extolling peace from one side of her mouth, while executing the necessary violence for the sway of Indian capital from the other side. Or the situation that finds sophisticated and expensive arms of legal force that used up one-third and one-half of the budgets of India and Pakistan respectively, to protect private property, while 16th. century type appeals went out for charity to feed starving child victims of the fighting, and while India had a wheat "surplus".

Water has been known to wear away rock, providing the action lasted long enough. In like fashion, the events and pressures of capitalism are penetrating the tranquilizers that the world's workers use to ameliorate the worst of their pain, and educating them about their real position in society, whether they wish it so or not.

Possibly some will remember India's invasion of the tiny state of Goa, which did not ask to be "liberated." It had had its own constitution for 300 years. Or they may raise an eyebrow and ask if India, the "world's biggest democracy" had a democratic view of minorities, why did it suppress a democratically elected government in the province of Kerala? And the religious minorities who have no national identity of their own?

## UNIFYING THE CONTINENT

The East Pakistani refugee situation presented a golden opportunity to the well-heeled owners of India to "kill two birds with one stone" as the old saying goes. It is simply not a paying proposition to feed 10 million people in refugee camps. They are

producing no profits. Useless as far as returns on the invested rupee are concerned, and they become a "burden." Far better, without any slowing of the crocodile tears flowing, to drive West Pakistani control out of the East, grab the potential for themselves, and get the refugees back "home" where the tools of production are (which they do not own) so they can become "useful citizens."

Several thousand children died of starvation while in the camps during the winter. Suddenly, with their monetary proclivity becoming apparent, the burden has been promised more "free" food, clothing and transportation, to get them through those friendly factory doors and farm gates.

As industrial production of high technology comes to the sub-continent, to be serviced it must be controlled by an agreeing conglomerate of ruling groups, or dominated by one of them. There must be adequate cohesion between all "partners" to ensure good markets for commodities, adequate supplies of raw materials, and a loyal and technically trained producing class, divested of the old politico-religious superstitions of feudalism. The modern extraction process must be hidden under new superstitions, of freedom and democracy, to the extent that the mass media can accomplish it. Which minorities become "liberated and which remain suppressed is dependent upon the above overall goal.

#### NATIONALISM=CAPITALISM=WAGE-SLAVERY, etc., etc.

Already Bangla Desh, the latest of a lengthy line of "independent" nations, each proclaiming to be free, on capitalist standards, is dividing into quarelling factions. Those who push the Aswami League want it to be the new administration, while another party faction, backed by Russia, wants to share the action via a coalition, "representative of the whole nation."

And as two news correspondents from Dacca and Jessore of former East Pakistan related: "If the flies and the carrion crowd have not eaten them (the bodies) it means they are less than 3 days old, and victims of the new order," and, "When one crosses into 'liberated Bangla Des,' the first person to be encountered is a uniformed immigration official of the Bangla Desh government, recognized by India only last Monday. Apparently one of the first things a new government wants to do is to stamp passports."

There are a few wage or salary working people who regard freedom to be something beyond the nine-to-five routine, garnished with civil rights, as admirable as such a servile situation may be compared to the same wages drudgery without the multi-party method. They do not expect to gain this freedom by searching for minute differences between national work camps,-- but rather by understanding, and getting others to understand the universal economic relations that confine the lives of the majority to a means of expanding capital, pointing to a world of common ownership, voluntary effort, free access; precluding the necessity of violence, and based upon the conscious self interest of all.

JGJ

#### What Next Red Brother? (concluded)

Indian has the escape of the reserve so long as he is not completely pressed into industrial wage slavery he has not the driving factor that makes him a potential ally of the socialist.

It is one of the ironies of history that its processes must destroy the democracy of peoples on the primitive level in order to make them the revolutionary factors in the movement to once again establish social democracy on a higher plane.

Larry Tickner

## ITALY - "TRAGEDY or FARCE."

History (despite the cliché so often uttered by the superficial thinker) does not repeat itself. Perhaps, in the words of Hegel: "All great events and personages occur twice" But even this requires the ironic appendant of Marx: "He (Hegel) forgot to add: 'Once as tragedy and again as farce'." Marx gave a few telling examples, and History reveals many apparent parallels. It is in the context of this view of historic events that we juxtapose the Russia of the late days of 1917 with the Italy of the early days of 1970.

The Russia of 1917 had been bled white by a disastrous war, its countryside laid waste; its young manhood largely destroyed or incapacitated; its political institutions crumbling. In short, a country in chaos.

But it was THEN an economically backward country with its population largely peasant. It was, in fact, a feudal, or semi-feudal, society, in which historic forces had brought it to the verge of a similarly BASIC revolution as that of England in 1688 or of France in 1789. Engels, in his introduction to *The Class Struggles in France*, dated March 6, 1895, writes, concerning the days of '49 in Europe:

"History has proved us, and all who thought like us, wrong. It has made it clear that the STATE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ON THE CONTINENT AT THAT TIME WAS NOT, BY A LONG WAY, RIPE FOR THE ELIMINATION OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION." (Emph. added)

It should be evident, too, that Russia, in the Fall of 1917 was not ripe, BY A LONG WAY, for the elimination of capitalist production. It was only rapidly ripening for its INTRODUCTION.

A political revolution was historically necessary before Russia could throw off its feudal shackles and emerge as a developing industrial country capable of producing vendible goods on an adequate scale for a world market. The difference between the 1917 Revolution of Russia, and that of France of 1789, or England of 1688, exists ONLY in form and appearance. BASICALLY IT WAS A SIMILAR BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION ALBEIT CARRIED OUT BY ALLEGED MARXISTS USING THE VERBAL AND IDEOLOGICAL RAIMENT OF MARXIAN TERMINOLOGY. It certainly was not to establish Socialism (despite the claims of its adherents). The fact that the populace was attracted by the Slogan, "Land, Peace and Bread," should be enough to maintain this point. Everyone, almost, wanted "Land, Peace and Bread," - very few showed a desire for, or knowledge of, Socialism. Perhaps there were a few who did and Lenin's famous remark at the Peasant's Congress of that time concerning the need for a "vanguard" to lead the unthinking and uneducated mass adds weight to our contention. We quote:

"If Socialism can only be realized when the intellectual development of all the people permits it, then we shall not see Socialism for at least 500 years. The Socialist political party, this is the vanguard of the working class, must not allow itself to be halted by the lack of education of the masses....."

Lenin thus added to his role of distorter of Marx that of Prophet. We wonder at this perspicience, this clairvoyance. It is on a par with the dogmatic assertion that Socialism is inevitable.

Today the whole of capitalist society is in crisis. The signs and portents are visible even in the most technologically advanced, the most affluent, nation, the U.S.A. Here, where we have until recently been assured that our well-being and prosperity depended on an advancing Gross National Product itself a contributing factor to that racial, inflation - we are now exhorted to cut back, to belt tighten, etc., and so one and a quarter million personnel are to be eliminated from the military service, overseas and domestic bases closed down, while in the private and semi-private sectors (aero-space and arms) many thousands more are to be summarily laid off. This is to head off inflation, the country's current headache. So now, while the agencies of Health, Education and Welfare and others, are diligently working (so we are told) to take the indigent off the Welfare Rolls and place them on the Pay Rolls, the general policy of the Government, as outlined by the President and his Secretary of Defence, is to take thousands off the Pay Rolls, so that, presumably they may be placed on the Welfare Rolls.

Thus are the contradictions of this "eternal" social system made obvious. The crisis is upon us here in America. But in no country in the world today does the crisis appear as acute and obvious as in the Mediterranean Peninsula, with a long history and a long coast line, Italy.

There, at the present moment, virtual chaos reigns. The schools are in disorder, probably more so than in any other country, dissatisfaction in industry appears, even at the top. High level personnel in management take to the streets to resist the police. And, naturally, this dissatisfaction is even more pronounced among the working force. Among the small business element, artisans, farmers, and the like, the spirit of rebellion appears. And the police, under-paid and constantly harassed (a move is on foot to disarm them) lose interest in their job and in efficiency. The powerful unions led and disciplined by the Communist Party while charging the police with the "police brutality" so often heard from the same quarters in other lands - except, as one writer puts it, "where they are in power," skillfully add to this "the wages of the police are inadequate,

and the police are sons of workers." There are similar evidences of unrest in the army, navy and air force. No one now seems to defend the police and thus the question naturally arises: How then can the police defend the regime?

We could produce here a vast amount of detail but space forbids. But the present administration seems to be in great disarray. The most powerful single political body in the nation, is the well disciplined and extremely active Communist Party. It now considers itself, according to the statement made by its leader, Amendola, in the columns of the Party Organ, L'Unita, A GOVERNMENT PARTY. It seeks allies among other "Left-Wing" groups and apparently would take a place in a coalition government. This is the largest Communist Party (outside of Russia) in Europe and displays its "independence" of the U.S.S.R., in its stand on the Czech invasion. This undoubtedly has attracted many new adherents, and demonstrated to the world that the Communist Party of Italy is one thing and that of Russia another. The difference is more "superficial" than "real".

Thus Communist participation in POWER while not PROBABLE at the moment is POSSIBLE. And the possibility increases with the passage of time. It is this possibility that we wish to examine and evaluate.

We do not now concern ourselves with posing the question: Which of these two significant historic events - The capture of political power by the Bolsheviks in Russia in 1917 or the POSSIBILITY of Communist GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE of the Italian Communist Party in the more or less immediate future - is "tragedy" and which "farce". We wish to describe what has happened in the fifty years of Soviet rule in Russia and postulate the possible consequences of Communist involvement (partial or complete) of Communist political power in the Italy of today.

When, after the collapse of Czarist Russia in the early days of 1917, the enfeebled representative of an enfeebled bourgeoisie (in the person of Alexander Kerensky) assumed the role of government, its failure to maintain itself portrays one of those ironies of which History gives many examples. The class destined by the historic process itself to assume control and management of the next social order is, because of the material conditions and circumstances of that moment, so weak and incapable that it cannot successfully fulfill this historic role. Thus, after a short spasm of political pyrotechnics, a rallying call to the dispirited and badly armed troops to resume the defense of the Fatherland, the Kerensky regime followed that of the Czarist down the chute of History. Here we might parenthetically suggest the folly of any class seeking to assume control when such class, apart from consideration of the development of the material conditions, is not itself intellectually ready. In this, we also register our disagreement with the Leninists.

With the Kerensky debacle there existed but one group whose appeal to the people carried any weight. To the slogan, "Land, Peace and Bread," was added another, "All Power to the Soviets." So, following the nullification and eventual liquidation of the Socialist Revolutionaries (representing the peasants) and the minority section of The Russian Social Democratic Party (the Mensheviks) - in whose ranks appeared those closer to the Marxian view of historic development and of Socialism (for instance, Martov) - the Bolsheviks took full control.

We are not concerned with their intentions, nor are we questioning, at this point, their honesty. We are dealing with the conditions of that time of which they were the prisoners and the victims. They may have claimed that they were now to prepare for the establishment of a Socialist society, etc. But they were compelled by the stage of development of the historic material circumstances to handle the administrative machinery in a country in which THE STATE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT...AT THAT TIME WAS NOT, BY A LONG WAY, RIPE FOR THE ELIMINATION OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION. It was, as we pointed out, becoming ripe ONLY FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION. The claims of the Bolsheviks, their declared intentions (honest though they may have been) could have been of no moment at that point in history and at that time in Russia. She had to undergo, in a more or less rapid manner, the birth and growth of those bourgeois relationships which must precede the birth and growth of those necessary social relationships for the establishment of Socialism.

The first thing, then, imposed upon these new RULERS was to organize a disorganized and chaotic country, put it on its feet as a viable community, and establish a defense against the forces of hostile capitalist nations with which it was surrounded.

Thus caught in the pincers of economic development, victims of the material conditioning circumstances of that time, it was not a question of intent, not a matter for realizing their declared purposes, but one of material necessity. THEY COULD NOT DO WHAT THEY STATED THEY WOULD. THEY DID WHAT THEY DID BECAUSE THEY WERE COMPELLED TO.

So, bit by bit, and day by day, the features of a system of commodity production, with capital and wage-labor and its resultant antagonisms, money form, and goods for export to a world market, appeared. THIS IS CAPITALISM. That it was developed and established by a State whose officials spouted Marxian slogans does not obliterate the fact. Capitalism, differing only from the "Free-for-all Enterprise" of allegedly private capitalism in that it became STATE CAPITALISM. And fifty years of Bolshevik rule in Russia

has seen the furthering strengthening of that particular form of Capitalism. So, whatever else it could be called, it is not Socialism.

Lenin himself, four years after the Bolshevik Revolution, evidently realized this.

"We are no longer attempting to break up the old social economic order, with its trade, its small scale economy and private initiative, its capitalism, but we are now trying to revive trade, private enterprise and capitalism, at the same time gradually and cautiously subjecting them to state regulation just as far as they revive." (Pravda, Nov. 7th, 1921) (Emph. added).

If this implies, as it seems to do, that this gradual and cautious action was to make easier the establishment of Socialism, let fifty years of Russia's development demonstrate otherwise. The world's second military power and putative economic opponent of the world's leading military and economic power:- that is what the gradual and cautious approach has resulted in.

This society, vociferously announced as Socialist - and in the name of Marx may very well be, from the standpoint of working class interests, the Hegelian-Marxian "tragedy."

Let us now look at what may turn out to be the "farce" in this historic drama--or, perhaps, maybe a "tragi-comedy," the Italy of today.

If we read the signs right we think it possible that a change in the government may occur before this essay (now being written Jan. 24th, 1970) come to public light. Our estimate is that it will be a Central-Left coalition, with the "communists," included. Whether or not it is likely that such a government, following the current six months minority rule, is formed, it does not appear that it could last very long.

The Spring elections which will constitute the legislatures for the regions will be the first test since the national elections of May, 1968. The result of these elections may very well determine whether a national election is held in the Spring of 1971. Many of the political elements are pushing hard for this, not content to await the legally scheduled date of Spring 1973.

On many things, of course, we can only speculate, but there is no speculation needed, at the moment, in assessing the increasing power and determination of the three labor federations. Emerging from the tough contract negotiations with a high measure of success, their prestige among the workers is high. And they have served notice that they do not mean to be content with what they have gained: they want more adequate housing, greater medical care etc. Thus this economic representative of the workers, takes on, of necessity, a political hue. This will, we think, increase in intensity with the passage of time.

On one matter we can only speculate and wait for the passage of time to provide the answers. Space demands that we reduce our enquiry to two possible positions which the "communist" group may take in the eventuality of their becoming an ingredient in a coalition government.

(1) Will they cooperate more or less fully with their partners in government, pushing for the reforms which the Labor Federations demand as immediately necessary? If so, they will only thus be engaged in the business of trying to make Capitalism work (an exercise in futility, surely, for a "Marxian" Socialist.)

On the other hand, if they engage in the business of sabotage of the government of which they form part-- an operation in which these "fishers in troubled waters" have in times past and divers places revealed a high expertise (and this speculation should not be considered impossible) --will this be to strengthen their position at the expense of their political allies, and in the resulting chaos, emerge as the ruling "clique?" While this is speculative it should not be ruled out, for it was in somewhat similar circumstances that the Bolsheviks of 1917 in Russia assumed control.

In the first assumed position (cooperation with "allies" in trying to make Capitalism work) we have to say again: This is NOT Socialism.

In the second (assuming the "communists obtained control) what then?

Let us first of all declare that undoubtedly, even now, the diplomats and statesmen of the Western world at least are looking closely at the current Italian scene, not to forget-- if the history of the last decade or so is any criterion-- the ever-ready presence of the C.I.A., with its ever-ready finger poked into this political pie. This is what happened in the chaotic days following W.W.I, in Italy, resulting in the rise of Mussolini. Present conditions do not, however, point to a renaissance of fascism.

But the "West" will be watching closely. The economic strength of Italy (apart from its strategic position in the Mediterranean) is necessary to western interests, for instance in NATO. There is wishful thinking on the part of business interests in Italy and in other capitalist countries that events may develop in such fashion as to enhance their interests.

If then, we postulate at some moment in the future the assumption of power by the "communists," what can we expect to look forward to?

If left alone by the other "free" world western powers, their first job (as it was with the Bolsheviks in Russia in 1917) will be to so organize the country as to render it a comparatively peaceful and viable society. Here again, as in Russia, they will be facing an outside capitalist society, but a more highly developed and more world-wide capitalism than the Russia of fifty years ago.

With capitalism as a world-wide system, despite its crises and social defects, in control of much of the world's affairs, under the leadership of the current policeman, the U.S.A., we venture the opinion that this assumed control of the Italian government by the "communists," will be almost immediately conditioned by the State of the outside world AND ITS WORLD MARKET. Since Italy, despite its rapid industrial development, cannot by itself, and of itself, maintain itself, it will be compelled by the weight of ITS MATERIAL CONDITIONING CIRCUMSTANCES, to produce commodities for the world market. If it does then it established itself, as did Russia, as a commodity producing society, with its money form, its stocks and bonds and similar evidences of capitalist indebtedness - a society of wage-labor and capital, of government and governed, ruler and ruled a polarized society even as other capitalist societies. Having been compelled, by circumstances (as was Russia) to step out onto this road of capitalist development, it cannot turn back until that road has been completely traversed. If it resists outside capitalist pressure it will be subjected, along its lengthy coast-line, to blockade, intrigue from within promoted and sustained by the extra-legal manipulations of such as the C.I.A., etc. Its last estate may thus be worse than its first. If, under these assumed circumstances in return for being left (comparatively) alone to run its own affairs -(as we imagine it would) it entered the comity of capitalist powers seeking their several places in the sun it would encounter increasingly intense economic rivalry.

Whatever it is compelled to do, it cannot at this time establish Socialism in the face of a hostile world. Furthermore, even if it wished it could not. It has, as of now, no mandate from the populace to so do. Whatever backing it has from the electorate is that of procuring certain reforms under capitalism, NOT THAT OF ESTABLISHING SOCIALISM. And it will furthermore be compelled, in order to maintain itself as a capitalist government, to provide its people with the sort of directives that the present Stalinist stooges in Czecho-Slovakia are giving to those "liberal" protestors (teachers, academicians, news-men, and the like) who were in the forefront of the fight for a greater measure of liberty in that tragic land.

Read what the spokesman for the Stalinist Husek regime recently offered in "Tribuna": "Do not let us harbor illusions. It was the function of the journalistic profession, and it will continue to be its function, TO MANIPULATE INFORMATION AND, THUS, TO MANIPULATE THE PUBLIC." (Emph. added).

May we here digress. The invasion by Warsaw Pact troops, under Russian direction, of Czecho-Slovakia is really very recent. And, yet, it is an almost forgotten event. Almost all now ignore it. It has been done, and Russia was successful. So it slips into History. The undersigned, feels a degree of satisfaction all too briefly, to put a different view forward (one now justified by subsequent events) than those of yawping liberals of various countries, and even against the half-thought-out premises and obfuscations of certain socialists.

We have no intention of entering the lists with Lenin, or any other, as contestants in a "numbers game." That he, attempting to peer into the future, concluded that if we state that the intellectual development of the masses to a realization of what socialism is, and a determination to achieve it, is necessary, then we must wait for almost 500 years, presents him as a not too astute historic analyst, despite his brilliance and production of a vast amount of literature.

How could he foretell the degree (or tempo) of knowledge which the pressure of the material circumstances arising from a revolutionary crisis would produce in the masses? History discloses that under such revolutionary pressures they are likely to learn much faster than we may expect.

In any case, the undersigned, member of The World Socialist Party of the U.S.A. (affiliated with similar companion parties around the world) declare, unequivocally, that Socialism is impossible without Socialists, knowledgeable and determined, and that these must exist as an adequate majority, at least. Only then, can their delegates consider that a mandate has been given to undertake the job.

This education is necessary; this majority is necessary. And since Capitalism is now a world-wide socio-economic system Socialism also must be world-wide and possessing that adequate majority before it can be established. There is no such thing as "Socialism in One Country." In fact, Russia has proved this in its own development and the assumed possibility of "communist" political influence in today's Italy will, and can, only give endorsement.

We are not troubling ourselves as to whether it will be 500 or 1000 years. Lenin's uneducable masses will have to be intellectually developed to the point where they know what Socialism is and be determined to get it. The period of waiting will be longer or shorter accordingly.

This, we hold, is the task of all enlightened Socialists. There are no short cuts. Russia as the "tragedy" and Italy, (maybe) as the "farce", are demonstrating this each passing day.

Wren, 1970

Wm. A. Pritchard

### WHAT NEXT RED BROTHER?

At a time when numerous ethnic groups are ailing at their poverty and discrimination a Socialist analysis of the problems of the North American Indian is long overdue.

Enough good material has been written and spoken about the appalling conditions, sickness and poverty of the North American Indians to make its reappearance here redundant. Some work has been done about the attitude of "whites" toward Indians. Less about the attitude of Indians towards whites and even toward themselves. There is however a dearth of material on what gives rise to these attitudes, in other words what is the historic and economic background to the situation. It is to this question that this article will mainly direct itself.

The attitude of too many toward the "white"-indian question is one of superior-inferior. This applies not only to "whites" of either supposed liberal or bigoted persuasion but many indians actually believe themselves inferior. Mere surface evidence would tend to give support for this conclusion for it is the "white man who has developed the great industrial machine and the indian who has the greatest difficulty in fitting into the cogs of that machine and consequently have the most poverty. Another attitude held by a few who have some knowledge of the Indian's earlier social institutions regard the indian as noble creature with a fine sense of brotherhood, a contrast to the white man who is regarded as having a greedy, avaricious "nature".

Unfortunately supporters of such narrow conclusions rarely feel the need to give more than the shallowest evidence to support their opinions. Their contradictors must provide mountainous material to remove their anthills of hasty conclusions.

In the light of today's available knowledgable material on the subject it should be unnecessary to point out the rather obvious axiom that man did not evolve out of the ocean with a union card in one hand and a credit card in the other. Neither did he immediately divide into inferior and superior groups with lesser or greater technologies and social institutions. Why then are some groups of mankind less developed than others in their technologies and social institutions? To answer the question calls upon the science of anthropology combined with materialism. Studies of various groups of peoples, though they be completely separated, have revealed that peoples who have a comparable technical development (tools, weapons etc.) then their social institutions, customs, religion etc. are also very similar. From this observation two conclusions are drawn; 1. It is man's productive mode that gives rise to his society, (social institutions, religion, morality etc.) and 2. (The one that concerns us most in this analysis). All men have a similar technical and social evolution. Therefore as the North American Indian lived when the white invaders arrived, so have the whites lived five to ten thousand years earlier. Although this might explain social evolution it does little to unhinge the shallow student who would conclude that the fact that the indian was five to ten thousand years behind in his technical and social development is proof of his inferiority. Were Socialists armed only with the science of anthropology they might be stuck on this one, but fortunately they have another weapon - materialism. In the long process of man's social evolution five to ten thousand years is but one grain of sand from the hourglass of time. In this agonizingly slow process it should be clear that man may take a great time to develop some simple tool such as a fish hook or clay pot. Separate groups will develop slightly different tools, some superior, some inferior. Should the barriers between them be great, such as high mountains or impassable deserts their lack of contact will reflect in their progress but should the barriers be minor, contact between each other, whether it be amicable or through expeditions of plunder will accelerate their knowledge of previously unknown skills. For example one contact between two tribes could develop a knowledge of certain tool making for each that might otherwise have

taken a hundred or more years for them to otherwise develop. If these contacts are more than two groups of peoples the progress will likewise be proportionately accelerated. This understanding and a look at the globe will reveal the source of the white man's progress. A most impressive feature is the Mediterranean Sea. Here is a very large body of water yet one that could be traversed by ancient sailing vessels. This sea provided a highway for invasion, plunder and trade and at the same time it provided the accelerating catalyst for man's development into civilization. Had this body of water it's temperature and other physical features that existed in the middle of North America it would follow that the North American Indian would have developed civilization first and no doubt would have inevitably invaded Europe and put the backward white savages on reserves. That many whites as well as indians find this hypothesis impossible to contemplate is a reflection of their racist prejudices.

In the early development of North America the white exploiters were content to have the indians pushed aside onto reserves with their productive ability relegated to a bit of trapping and fishing, but the modern capitalist wants to exploit indians in factories the same way as he does the white wage slave. Although he might phrase it in less frank terms this also seems to be what most indian spokesmen want. Why then if the indian is not inferior does he have so much trouble assimilating into modern capitalism, or what is another way of putting it, why can't the indian adjust to being exploited as readily as his white brother? Remember that the whites have had five to ten thousand years of experiencing the master slave relationship. That's a long time of being conditioned into the concept of producing things for someone else with little regard for ones own comfort. The indian has had no such conditioning. When the white invaders arrived the indian was at a stage of primitive socialism. Productive activities (mostly the hunt) were conducted solely to provide the needs of the whole tribe. Only in some areas were being taken the first halting steps into civilization or slavery. The indian may have poverty on the reserve but he also has the remnants at least of something that few white slaves genuinely experience--brotherhood. The conflict between the material productivity of an exploitation society and (productively) backward democracy is frequently expressed by indian spokesmen who say they are not sure if they want to get into "your" society or not. Yet in spite of individual cases of discrimination the capitalist class as a whole want the indian to be fully integrated into the industrial complex. Standing in the way is the reserve system, white and indian prejudice, and the indians own inferiority complex. The process seems impossible but the drives of capitalism are relentless. As Karl Marx put it, the more advanced peoples (Marx actually said "nations") show to the less advanced the mirror of their own future. This indicates what the indian can expect. White wage slaves have no reserve on which to fall back when the pressures of capital get too tough.. So for the indian to become as exploitable as his white brother the reserves must go. Already more opportunistic indians are finding ways to use indian lands to make profits. Some are becoming capitalists - and they show no different behavior than white capitalists.

The capitalist class could speed the process slightly by ridding both whites and indians of their prejudices towards each other by revealing the anthropological analysis explained in this article! However the capitalist is caught on the horns of a dilemma. For with such knowledge goes the concept of an ever changing man going from one social order to another and workers with such knowledge cannot but help to think of the next step for man in his social evolution and a glaring conclusion that must arise if that man's next social order should be a comparable combination of the production for use social order of primitive society combined with present day technology.

Socialists do not have the power to effect the forces that are working on the indians, nor should they attempt to be so involved for this inevitable process gives rise to some terrible conflicts. Namely, it is somewhat sad to see the indian's social brotherhood destroyed and see them herded into the wage slavery under which the rest of us suffer but on the other hand, so long as the indian has the (continued on page 5)

# SOCIALIST PARTY of Canada

## OBJECT:

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of society as a whole.

## DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Companion Parties of Socialism hold:

1. — That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone wealth is produced.
2. — That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
3. — That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
4. — That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.
5. — That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
6. — That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and overthrow of plutocratic privilege.
7. — That as political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interest of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
8. — THE COMPANION PARTIES OF SOCIALISM, therefore, enter the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist, and call upon all members of the working class of these countries to support these principles to the end that a termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labor, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

## These 7 parties adhere to the same SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES:

LEAGUE OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS — Wien XII, Wienerbergstr. 16, Austria.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA — P. O. Box 1440, Melbourne, Australia;  
Sydney, Australia, Box 2291, GPO.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA — P. O. Box 237, Victoria, B. C.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN — 52 Clapham High St., London SW. 4.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND — P. O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand;  
P. O. Box 1929, Auckland, New Zealand.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND—53 High St., Rm. 5, Belfast 1, N. Ireland

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF U. S.—295 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass. 02115.

Those interested in the Object & Principles of the Companion Parties of Socialism can obtain further information from the above addresses. or P.O. Box 237, Victoria, B.C., Canada